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The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

AUGUST 12, 1916

From the New York Tribune, August 4, 1916

An Issue Squarely Met

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Colors—Purple, White and Gold

OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.
MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.
ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five Cents. There are no dues.

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The Suffragist

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and of the National Woman's Party
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AUGUST 12, 1916

Notes of the Week

Professor Beard on the National Woman's Party

ON page 8 of this issue THE SUFFRAGIST has reprinted an article on the National Woman's Party from the *New Republic*. This article was written by Professor Charles Austin Beard, Professor of Politics at Columbia University.

Professor Beard, who is the author of "An Introduction to the English Historians" (1906), "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States" (1913), and a number of other works on constitutional history, is internationally recognized as an eminent political historian.

Women will be greatly interested in an article on the Woman's Party from Professor Beard's pen.

All Parties Have Adopted Suffrage Plank

THE last national convention of political parties in the United States, that of the American party, recently in session at St. Paul, adopted in its platform a plank favoring equal suffrage to women through the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the federal constitution.

Democrat Discusses Hughes Speech Ignores Suffrage Issue

SENATOR JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS gave notice to the Senate last week that he would discuss upon the floor Mr. Hughes' speech of acceptance. But when Mr. Lewis rose a few days later, although he discussed a great many of Mr. Hughes' statements, not one word did he say about the Republican candidate's view on woman suffrage.

The Washington *Herald* of August 4, says:

"The Illinois Senator has been in touch with the White House, and his remarks thus will take a semi-official nature and serve to reflect the opinion of the administration on points that have been criticized by the Republican candidate."

Senate Passes Child Labor Bill

EIGHT minutes before adjournment last Tuesday the Senate passed the Child Labor bill by a vote of 52 to 12.

The action was forecasted by the voting down of an amendment which would suspend the operation of the law for two years after its passage.

Opposition to the measure was confined to southern members, although Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, registered in the negative. The other opponents of the bill were Senators Overman, Bankhead, Bryan, Fletcher, Hardwick, Oliver, Simmons, Smith of Georgia, Smith of South Carolina, Tillman and Williams.

Says President Violates Constitution

SENATOR CUMMINS during the past week charged President Wilson with forcing Democrats in the House and Senate to adopt legislation against their judgment, and told opponents of the child labor bill who contend it is unconstitutional, that the presidential assumption of legislative functions was a greater menace to the constitution than the passage of any measure.

"There has not been a single important measure passed since 1913 in which Democratic Congressmen have not felt the heavy hand of the executive," said the Senator.

"Those Senators who see an invasion of state rights and a menace in the passage of the present bill, ignore the graver violations of the constitution exhibited every day during this session."

The Senator from Iowa declared he had taken up the subject only because Senator Hardwick had previously asserted that President Wilson had violated his conception of the constitution in urging this legislation.

Duchess of Marlborough Joins English Women's Political Movement

THE Duchess of Marlborough, in addition to her many other activities, has become an active member of the Women's Municipal Party of London, an organization formed to fight for reforms affecting women and children. She has started a movement to obtain for women a share in the municipal government of London.

"The Women's Municipal Party aims at uniting women citizens into an independent party," she says, "with a program and a policy broad enough to include those of every political group who desire to secure definite reforms affecting women and children. Local government has not yet made a very definite appeal to women; technicalities have too long obscured essentials."

American Woman Listed as Alien Enemy in England Because She Married a German

THE Baroness Bettina von Hutton, author of a number of popular novels, was fined fifty dollars in a London court last week for traveling more than five miles from her place of residence without a permit. The Baroness, although of American birth, is listed as an alien enemy because she is married to a German.

In her defense, counsel declared the Baroness had not a drop of German blood in her veins, and that she had as much "aversion" to the Germans as anybody in England. Two of her children have been sent to Germany since the beginning of the war, and it was a visit from her residence, Holbein House, Chelsea, to two other children in a village in Herts, that resulted in the fine.

Our federal laws, which declare that an American woman loses her citizenship when married to a foreigner, will never be altered until women win political power throughout the nation.

Women Now to Speak in Anglican Churches

A London dispatch, dated August 5, to the New York *World*, says:

"According to the *Daily Express*, women are to be allowed to speak in Anglican churches, provided they do not speak from the pulpit, lectern or chancel steps. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London have pronounced definitely in favor of this innovation, and other bishops are expected to give their sanction.

"Protests have been made, the leader of the opposition being Athelstan Riley, a prominent higher church man, who urges that to allow women to speak in churches 'is the first recognized step in an organized movement to claim the priesthood for women.'"

Political Parties of Denmark Demand Concession to Women

OWING to the war," says the August number of *Votes for Women*, "the Danish elections have been postponed; so the newly-enfranchised women of Denmark will not exercise their votes immediately. But the influence of their recent acquisition of political power is already apparent in the programmes of the three principal political parties.

"The Conservative party confines itself to a general statement of support for women's efforts to secure their full independence and also judicial equality with men. The Moderate party advocates the full equality of woman with man in the family, society and the state, and also in respect to economic rights, and rights over children. The Radical party demands the admission of women to all state and municipal offices, on equal terms with men; equal pay for equal work; equal guardianship and parental control of children; and the adoption of the principle that the disposal of the common property should not of necessity be in the hands of the husband only.

"This eagerness to recognize the equality of women with men in the state, expressed even before women have had time to use their votes, is enough to show how baseless the argument is that the vote is of no value."

Suffrage by State Referendums "for Women Only"

By Mary Beard

PRESIDENT WILSON says: "Every good thing must be worked for. I cannot help you with the federal suffrage amendment, ladies, because the right to vote is historically and rightly a matter for individual voters within each state to determine directly at the polls."

Such is man's suggested provision *for women only.*

It was not his method of enfranchising himself, even in the United States, where popular government presents such strange anomalies. Does President Wilson fancy, and do Congressmen fancy, that American men vote because that good thing was worked for in the way that they are trying to force women to secure the same good thing? Do they suppose that the men who were disfranchised by property and other qualifications under the early state constitutions were always compelled to submit their case to a popular referendum, or to beg for the ballot at the hands of their political masters? If they do, they are sadly deficient in historical knowledge and misguidedly loyal to imagined traditions.

Many State Constitutions Not Submitted to Electorate

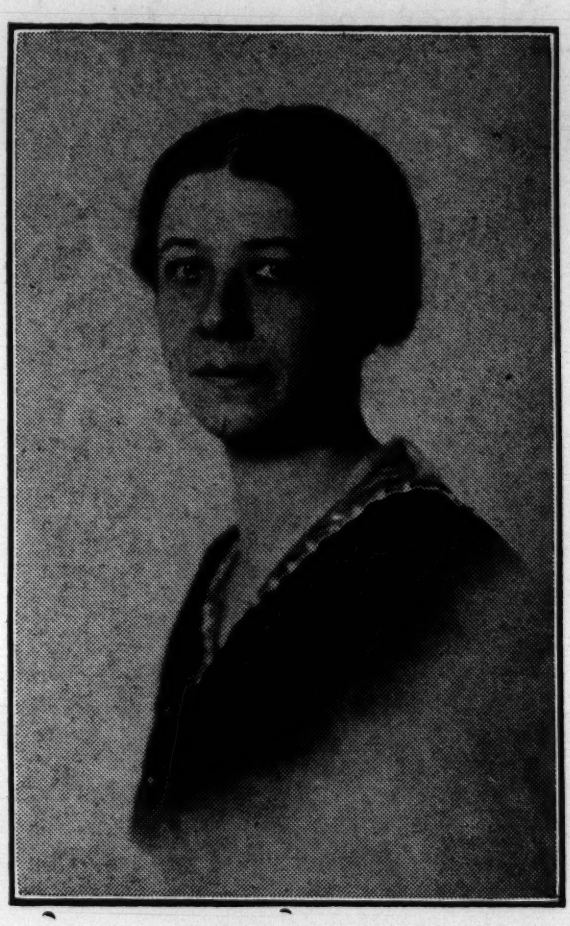
For a period of forty-five years, from 1776 to 1821, at the beginning of our national history, twenty-six states framed constitutions, and only six of them submitted the document to the electorate. Each of these constitutions dealt with the question of suffrage. In New England alone was there anything like popular approval for a constitution. Less than one-fourth of these early state constitutions required the men who were thus enfranchised to plead in the streets for the privilege. Congress, in admitting new states to the Union, approved the policy of establishing suffrage regulations by the convention or legislative process, without popular ratification, until the year 1831.

Congress established suffrage in the territories by legislative enactment from 1789 until 1831. It did not look with favor upon the idea of consulting men upon the voting privilege even for their own sex. The first states that sought admission under the young government were Kentucky, Vermont, and Tennessee. They formed governments and adopted constitutions of their own without submission to the electorate and yet providing for practical white manhood suffrage. They were admitted readily into the Union.

Electorate of State Constitutional Conventions Determined by Congress

Succeeding states had to secure enabling acts from Congress before they could form their own constitutions and be admitted to the Union. In these enabling acts the hand of Congress is clearly seen positively determining the suffrage within each commonwealth. This is entirely contrary to the usual notion that the state itself settled the question.

Ohio offers the first example. Its enabling act of 1802 came just fifteen years after Thomas Jefferson's drafting of the Northwest Ordinance for the government of territories west to the Mississippi. The Northwest Ordinance had this to say about the suffrage for that territory: "So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships to represent them in the general assembly. * * * PROVIDED ALSO, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district; or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative." Fifteen years later, the enabling act widened the male suffrage for the state convention electors in the following terms: "AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that all male citizens of the United States, who shall have arrived at full age, and resided within the said territory at least one year previous to the day of election, and shall have paid a territorial or county tax, and all persons having in other respects the legal qualifications to vote for representatives in the general assembly of the territory, be, and they are hereby authorized to choose representatives to form a convention."



Mary Ritter Beard

Furthermore Congress did not allow the constitution framed according to its directions to be submitted to the voters, for it definitely provided that the convention which framed the constitution and state government was "to form for the people of the said state a constitution and state government." The territorial legislature was utterly ignored; and neither it nor the voters—("people" as they were always called)—were asked to pass upon the new instrument. The constitutional convention had been composed of representatives chosen in the rather liberal way prescribed by Congress, and it granted practical manhood suffrage without ratification by the former qualified voters. Congress, therefore, for practical purposes, established manhood suffrage in Ohio.

Suffrage Established Under Direction of Congress in Many States

In exactly the same way Indiana and Illinois men won the right to vote, that is, by congressional influence and direction.

Enabling acts for the territories of Louisiana in 1811, Mississippi in 1817, Alabama in 1819, and Missouri in 1820 were couched in the same terms, the convention in each case being authorized to "form for the people" a constitution. The convention was composed of representatives chosen by electors as directed by Congress, and, under the wide suffrage, it extended the right to vote to that same wide electorate.

Protests from the East

Easterners were not all pleased by any means with the manhood suffrage thus being established in the middle west and southwest. When Louisiana wanted to come into the Union in 1812, Josiah Quincy, of Boston, said in Congress: "I have heard of six states, and some say more that will surely be formed beyond the Mississippi. It has even been said that the day is near when the mouth of the Ohio will be far to the east of the center of the empire. It is impossible that such a power should be granted. It was not for these men that our fathers fought. It was not for them that the constitution was adopted. You have no right to throw the liberties and property of this people into a hotchpotch of wild men on the Missouri, nor with the mixed, though more respectable race of Anglo-Gallo-Hispano-Americans who bask on the sands at the mouth of the Mississippi. Do you suppose the people of the Northwestern and Atlantic States will or ought to look with patience and see representatives and senators from the Red River and Missouri pouring themselves on this and the other floor, managing the affairs of a seaboard fifteen hundred miles, at least, from their residence?"

Arkansas came in in 1836 without a popularly ratified constitution. Just what happened in Florida seems to be uncertain and it is possible that it too established suffrage without a referendum.

Even After 1857 Congress Influenced Composition of State Electorate

It was not until 1857, that Congress specifically changed its former control of the suffrage and other state matters and required that the constitution of a new state be submitted for approval at the polls. In regulating the electorate for calling the convention together, however, Congress certainly had a very decisive hand in the matter of suffrage. In this way it not only established manhood suffrage through the far West, except in California and Texas, which came in without previous enabling acts; but it disfranchised the women of Utah, and tried to disfranchise the women of Wyoming. Federal judges refused to permit the women of Washington who had the vote under territorial law, to take part in the elections for the constitutional convention, or vote on the suffrage provision. That story as it concerns women directly was told in THE SUFFRAGIST of July 15.

Instead of winning the right to vote by hard work through the referendum process, men thus vote throughout the Mississippi region and westward to the Pacific and in many southern states as a direct result of congressional procedure, regulation, and interference in local affairs.

In the eastern and other southern states manhood suffrage is only to a very slight extent the result of referenda on the question. New England stands almost alone in having submitted the matter to popular approval. The first constitution of Maryland was not submitted, nor that of Delaware, when the suffrage was established; New Jersey, in 1807, removed the property qualification on the suffrage for men by statute instead of referendum, and then by statute took the vote from women. Curiously enough, New York, in 1821, allowed men who had not previously voted to help to determine whether they themselves should have the vote; that is, it submitted the question of white manhood suffrage not to their political masters alone, but also to the men to be enfranchised by the proposal. Another curious bit of historical discovery is that the provision for consulting a wide electorate on amendments to the state constitution was first utilized in Illinois by the advocates of slavery, according to Lobingier.

(Continued on next page)

First Conference of National Woman's Party

NOTABLE women from all over the United States are gathering this week in Colorado Springs, to attend the first conference of the National Woman's Party. They are meeting to frame a policy of action in the coming election which will throw the weight of women's political power in the twelve equal suffrage states behind the famous Susan B. Anthony amendment, proposing the national enfranchisement of women.

Every state chairman of the Woman's Party will be present at the conference, or will send a personal representative, and many distinguished western speakers and civic workers will be there, ready to serve

Miss Natalie Gray

Chairman of Ushers, Woman's Party Conference

and advance the national suffrage movement. Miss Anne Martin, Nevada, chairman of the National Woman's Party; Dr. Florence Manion, Oregon; Mrs. Bertram Sippy, Illinois; Miss Gail Laughlin, and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, California; Mrs. Bertha Fowler, Colorado; and hosts of other western women have announced their intention of taking part in the conference of the Woman's Party.

The East will be represented by many women who, though they cannot vote at the conference, are anxious to attend its sessions, so momentous for the future of women.

Miss Ella Riegel, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware; Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union; Miss Alice Carpenter, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Miss Helen Todd, Miss Rose Winslow, New York are among those who will represent the Congressional Union at the conference.

Headquarters, National Woman's Party, Antlers Hotel, Colorado Springs

From Left to Right: Miss Mabel Vernon, Mrs. Bertha Fowler, Miss Anne Martin, Dr. Caroline Spencer

Every congressional district of Colorado will send representatives to the conference. Colorado is roused over the national suffrage amendment, and alert to know the plans formed to support it. Telegrams from all over the state, are pouring in to the White House, asking that the suffrage amendment be passed through Congress and allowed to go before the state legislatures. A telegram in support of the suffrage amendment was sent to President Wilson signed by twenty-six prominent Democratic women on August 8. Western women do not understand the blocking of the suffrage amendment in Congress, and are doing their best to end it.

Campaign Plans

THE exodus from the East to the West in the service of the Woman's Party has begun. Political campaigners are arriving, bag and baggage, at national headquarters for final instructions, campaign literature, the records of Congressmen, and general information on the political conditions in each state.

Every day new workers,—young, hopeful, ardent,—leave for the West, determined to make this battle the last women will ever have to wage for their political liberty.

At Colorado Springs activities are at fever heat. Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the Woman's Party, has been on the ground for the past two weeks. Assisting her are the officers and members of the Colorado branch of the party, and a group of national organizers, including Miss Mabel Vernon, Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, and Miss Kathleen Taylor. Miss Doris Stevens and Miss Alice Paul are, as we write, speeding to Colorado.

Stationed already at western outposts, building an organization to assist in the work of the party in the fall, are Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore and Miss Alice Henkle in Nevada; Miss Margery Ross in Idaho; Miss Clara Louise Rowe in Montana; and Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe in California. Mrs. E. F. Muhse and Miss Jane Pincus have already left for Idaho to relieve Miss Ross, who will then return to Wyoming, where as one Congressman put it, "I hear she has all the cross roads organized."

At the close of this week Miss Emily Perry leaves for Kansas, where the battle for the presidency is hot. Next Tuesday, August 15, Miss Julia Hurlbut and Miss Agnes Campbell will start for the state of Washington.

At the close of the conference at Colorado Springs, the workers centered there will scatter over the West to begin the campaign in bitter earnest.

Suffrage by State Referendum "for Women Only"

By Mary Beard

(Continued from preceding page)

Constitution of Cuba Not Submitted by Congress to Cuban People

So much for the right of the man's vote by popular consent. The federal government has been wily in its methods. When it arranged Cuba's constitutional convention, although it did so at the time when it had set its seal of approval on local popular ratification, it refrained from submitting the document to a "people schooled, so far as they were schooled at all, only in the monarchical traditions of Latin Europe." That was in 1900, yet in 1916, the federal government bids American women "God speed" in submitting their liberty and their government to millions of foreign men schooled in the monarchical and sex traditions of Latin Europe and all the other backward places of the earth.

This is not all. The priceless privilege of voting for President of the United States is a right not secured by popular referendum, but by legislative enactment. The right to vote for the United States Senators is conferred upon electors, not by state referendum, but by the seventeenth amendment to the federal constitution, which is to be followed, appropriately enough, by the eighteenth, conferring the vote upon women.

Suffrage Referendum a Myth

In view of the plain facts of history, this suffrage business is not as simple as our states rights' friends would have us believe. They cannot force state referenda upon the women with a good conscience, if they have any respect for historical truth.

"Everything must be worked for," says President Wilson; but is it fair that the women should have to work any harder than the men for the ballot? Why should they be compelled to choose the most difficult way?

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Sentors Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, by Repsentatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.

In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Woman Suffrage, Child Labor and States' Rights

THE federal child labor bill was passed by the Senate on Tuesday, August 8. It went at once to a conference committee, and will undoubtedly become law at this session.

Women throughout the country will rejoice unanimously over the passage of this measure, which recognizes the interest of the nation in the welfare of the nation's children.

They will not fail to note, however, that this measure, which in effect gives the federal government the right to control the production of goods within a state, was passed by a Democratic Congress at the direct command of a Democratic President,—the same Congress and President that have declared against the enfranchisement of women by federal amendment because such an amendment would be an infringement of states' rights.

The states' rights argument against the child labor bill would not particularly interest the great majority of women. Nevertheless nobody could deny that the child labor bill is a much greater infringement of states' rights than a federal suffrage amendment could possibly be.

A federal amendment, as a matter of fact, cannot be unconstitutional at all; there is no barrier whatever in the constitution to the adoption of an amendment, when supported by a two-thirds' vote in the Senate and House and ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

On the other hand the federal government has under the constitution no right to control the labor of children within a state, except under the provisions of the interstate commerce clause, which was obviously never intended by the founders of the constitution to apply to such a problem.

So unusual is the taking over by Congress of the power to regulate labor within the state that Watson, writing on the constitution, says: "Closely akin to the question of regulating manufacturing is the question whether Congress can forbid the hauling of a commodity, by a carrier of interstate commerce, which was manufactured in a state, for instance, by women or children under a certain age, as has recently been maintained. This question is of far reaching effect; and if such power exists in Congress it would result in *the most complete invasion of the sovereignty of the states by the general government which has ever been accomplished under the federal government.*" (Quoted in the *Congressional Record*, page 14163.)

Moreover the child labor bill was passed by a majority vote of both Houses and need not be ratified by the states. Both Houses are under the control of the Chief Executive, who through his party leadership exercises a powerful influence over the legislative program. Nobody doubts for one instant that the child labor bill will become a law because President Wilson declared that it must be made a law, in view of the necessities of the pending presidential campaign. This law, then, has been written into the statute books through the dominant influence of one man,—a law whose constitutionality many Senators have declared to be dubious, and which does not require ratification either by popular vote or by the consent of state legislative bodies.

Nothing could be more interesting to suffragists than the airing of the states' rights theory in the course of the debate on this measure.

Senator Brandegee of Connecticut suggested in his arguments against the constitutionality of the child labor bill, that the advocates of the measure propose it in the form of an amendment to the constitution, in which case no arguments against its constitutionality could possibly be made. "Why do they not bring forward a constitutional amendment?" Senator Brandegee said (*Congressional Record*, page 14192), "Why do they not come forward as the woman suffragists have done,, and say 'we want a constitutional amendment now'?"

At another time, when Senator Brandegee was held to account on the question of the plank in the Republican platform directing the transfer to the central government of all power to regulate commerce within a state, he said: "I do not know how the plank to which the Senator refers got into the Republican platform; but I will say that if it ever gets into the constitution, or if we pass legislation upon that subject, it will be done by a valid constitutional amendment, which will become to all intents and purposes a part of the constitution" (*Congressional Record*, page 14191).

Senator Overman of North Carolina, a Democrat of the old school, makes this same suggestion (*Congressional Record*, page 14165). "If more power is needed for the successful operation of the government, owing to changed conditions, the way is clearly provided for in the constitution by Article V. Let an amendment be submitted to the states. In any event let the people be consulted, let their sacred will be known, let their consent be given to the surrender of any of their rights, and without their consent let nothing be done by an unwarranted construction."

In spite of these heart-rending constitutional pleas from Republican and Democratic Senators, pleas mainly based, in the last resort, on opposition to the principle of the bill itself, the Democratic Senate wrote, at the behest of their leader, the child labor bill into law.

Women have no criticisms to make of child labor legislation; but they demand that no phrase about states' rights shall be used by Democrats in the future in opposition to the principle of the national enfranchisement of women.

SUFFRAGE IN NATIONAL POLITICS

WOMEN in all the states are very seriously looking to President Wilson to consult his party anew on the advisability of allowing the suffrage amendment to go to the state legislatures at this session.

This expectation is not a mark of resolute optimism. The suffrage issue is looming up, big and black, before the Democratic party. It would be an immense relief to the President and his supporters, if suffrage were cleared out of the national field before the session ended.

A number of Democrats are reminding their party leaders of the practical advice given the Democratic party by Senator Walsh, at the St. Louis convention, when he was supporting the states' rights plank on suffrage, drafted by the President.

"It is a condition, not a theory, which confronts us," said Mr. Walsh, at that time.

"The women control ninety-one votes in the electoral college. Every other party contending for the presidency in this election has declared for woman suffrage. It becomes a simple question—whether we should incur the enmity that will be declared against the nominee of this convention. There is no possibility whatever of your losing a vote if you adopt this majority resolution, because every other party has declared for this plank in one form or another, and there is no place out of the Democratic party for a man who doesn't like it to go."

"Every other candidate but the Democratic candidate," President Wilson is now being told, "has declared for the federal suffrage amendment. We cannot lose a vote if we declare for it, because *there is no place out of the Democratic party for a man who doesn't like it to go.*"

Western men are adding in despair, "Why all the fuss about nothing?—about a request to let the states act, as they have a right to do? Why hurt the party for no reason whatever?"

Telegrams are pouring in from the West urging the President to allow the suffrage amendment to go at once to the state legislatures.

UP to the present no favorable statement on suffrage has come from the White House.

It was officially announced on August 2, through Mr. Tumulty, the President's secretary, that Mr. Wilson's opinion on the question of woman suffrage was unchanged. This decision as outlined several times to suffrage delegations within the last three years is that while he favors votes for women, he is opposed to federal action. It was indicated that the decision announced was final.

SENATOR PITTMAN, of Nevada (Democrat), who voted against suffrage in 1914, attacked Mr. Hughes in the Senate on August 5 for his support of the federal suffrage amendment, on the ground that he was declaring for a principle opposed in the platform of his party. Senator Pittman ignored the statements of leading members of the Republican resolutions committee that the suffrage plank was in no way intended to declare against action on woman suffrage. A storm of questions from the Republican side were directed at Senator Pittman, asking when the Democratic party would allow the suffrage amendment to come to a vote in the Senate. Senator Pittman said he did not know.

SENATOR THOMAS, of Colorado, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee and, in the absence of Senator Sutherland, in charge of the suffrage amendment, issued a statement saying that he had abandoned all hope of having the suffrage amendment voted upon in the Senate at this session. "Some two or three weeks ago I addressed a letter to each Senator, asking if he would consent to the taking up of this amendment and submitting it to a vote without argument. The responses which I have received have been about equal in number in consenting and objecting to the proposed method of procedure. Consequently I have neither said nor done anything further about it."

Senator Thomas concedes that the administration is not willing to allow sufficient time for the suffrage amendment, affecting the political rights of half the people, to be seriously debated and voted upon.

SENATOR SUTHERLAND, whose telegram to Mr. Charles E. Hughes, dated August 1, secured the magnificent statement from the Republican candidate in favor of federal woman suffrage, wrote recently to Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, at Washington, D. C., "I deeply appreciate your very cordial telegram which I have just received. I think the outlook for the favorable consummation of what you and I both have so much at heart is most excellent and I confidently believe that the Anthony amendment will be submitted by the necessary two-thirds before Governor Hughes' first term as President is ended. I do not need to assure you that my very best efforts to that end are yours to command."

SINCE Mr. Hughes declared for the prompt national enfranchisement of women, Democratic candidates and Democratic newspapers have been falling into extraordinary attitudes on this question.

The Democratic New York *World* declares with heat that suffrage should not be "forced" upon unwilling states; and second, with amazing inconsistency, that a federal amendment is the longest and slowest road to national suffrage.

The *World*, which hotly criticises suffragists for criticising Mr. Wilson, now brands them in its issue of August 8, as allies of hyphenated Americans. The charge is, we believe, entirely new in the history of the American suffrage movement.

The New York *Times* is publishing a series of almost daily editorials denouncing the theory that four million "goblin" votes will be cast in support of woman suffrage, and that women, in the West or anywhere, are "sex-solid." The National Woman's Party can congratulate itself on the lengthy editorial comment it has elicited from the Anti-Suffrage *Times*.

Mr. Hughes Begins Western Tour with Speech on National Suffrage

THE slogan, "national suffrage at the earliest possible moment," which Mr. Hughes struck at the opening of his campaign in New York, is sounded in all of the speeches he is making on his tour through the West.

At his first stopping place, Detroit, Governor Hughes made a brief address to a hundred men and women representing the Congressional Union of Michigan. The meeting was held at half past eleven in the morning. Mr. Charles Warren introduced Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, who spoke for the Congressional Union, and Mrs. Delphine Ashbaugh, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, who addressed the candidate in the name of the organized women of Michigan. Flowers in the colors of the Union were given Mrs. Hughes by little Miss Frances Alvord.

Mrs. Nelson Whittemore who Arranged Meeting for Mr. Hughes in Detroit

Mr. Hughes' speech was brief and pointed. "It is a great pleasure to meet the women gathered here," he said, "and I fully appreciate the deep interest that they take in the questions which are of the greatest importance at this time.

"I have nothing to add to the views I expressed very definitely the other day in New York.

"These views I have formed long ago, as quietly I contemplated the course of our affairs.

"I had not expected to be in a postition where public utterance on such questions would be called for. However, I was, to the best of my ability, an observer and a student of American life; I could not form any other judgment than that I expressed in respect to our tendencies (applause); and I believe, as I said, in the inevitableness of the success of the movement for woman suffrage.

"Having that view, I have desired that women should work with men as fellow citizens in connection with the solution of the problems of government, and that there should be as little agitation as possible to bring about that desired event, by reason of the promptness with which that success would be achieved. (Applause.)

"I have desired that we should concentrate our attention in this country upon normal political issues; and as soon as possible settle the matter about which we feel deeply and with respect to which, it seems to me, there can be but one result.

"I am therefore very glad to have the opportunity to meet you." (Prolonged applause.)

Headquarters were maintained by the Congressional Union, under the direction of Mrs. Paul Reyneau, in the lobby of the Pontchartrain Hotel during Governor Hughes' visit to Detroit.

For Woman's Party

COLONEL ROOSEVELT gave his unqualified endorsement to the aims and policy of the Woman's Party, in a letter sent on August 8 to Miss Alice Carpenter, of New York.

"I welcome the formation of an organization, especially organized in the suffrage states, to secure the passage of the federal amendment," Colonel Roosevelt wrote.

"The time is ripe for the passage of the amendment. There is a more widespread demand for it than for the passage of any recent constitutional amendment. Twelve states have already enfranchised women without producing to even the smallest degree any of the evils prophesied. The women in these twelve states should certainly use this ballot on behalf of their sisters in the other states. Such action is precisely like that of the men who use their ballots to force the abolition of child labor, the passage of the workmen's compensation laws, the adoption of a protective tariff, or the enactment of legislation to secure the military and naval preparedness which is vital to the very existence of the nation.

"It is absurd to stigmatize one movement as 'blackmail' unless the other movements are also stigmatized as blackmail. As for 'sex antagonism,' that is due to the men who discriminate against women purely because of sex, and not to the women who merely seek to do away with such discrimination. The special women's organizations should act in this matter as men (and women) do in the movements for national defence. They should not pardon misconduct, or mischievous and wrong-headed attitudes in a public man merely because he is right on this question, but they should make his attitude on the question the consideration of primary importance."

COMMENTS OF

The Four Million of the West

By Florence M. Brewer
The Web, July 15, 1916

HE was a member of Congress.

She was a woman voter in Washington.

Her phone rang when she was still at breakfast.

"How many women voters was that you said yesterday?—Four million?—Good Lord, I didn't think there were that many women!" Whereupon she knew she had another Congressman worried and was deeper by that much in national politics.

For they are in, these women voters; they have worried their way in, the worry being largely on the part of the Congressmen. So far as their own activities in Washington go, all the women do is to walk up and down the corridors of the Capitol, from nine in the morning until six at night, stopping before Congressional office-doors and introducing themselves as "one of the 4,000,000 women voters of the West." The phrase is new to the political vocabulary, and has been difficult to grasp, but it seems to be more and more easily understood as the fall elections approach. Fully interpreted it means this:

There are, excluding aliens, minors, and everyone to whom the antis could find an objection, 4,034,594 women qualified to vote in the coming elections. * * *

According to the Chicago *American*, if 10 per cent of the women voters act together they can make every one of the suffrage states doubtful in the coming election. And they are threatening to do it!

They have actually formed a party of their own with a deadly one-plank platform. They have deserted both the old freedom-loving Democratic party and the G. O. P., broken party ties, forgotten party friendships, all for the sake of the freedom of other women. They declare their intention of judging the party in power on one count only—its record on woman suffrage, and of holding their representatives in Congress as hostages for that party. * * *

Bound by Party Politics

In 1914 the Union intended to bring the amendment giving political freedom to women before Congress for a vote. The Senate voted in March. In the House of Representatives the bill was reported without recommendation and was blocked in the rules committee, of which Representative Henry, of Texas, was then chairman. The Democrats held a caucus on the bill and decided not to let it come up. Day by day appeals to the members of the rules committee availed nothing, except "the party, you see, has decided against it." Then came this letter from Mr. Henry:

"It would give me great pleasure to report the resolution to the House, except for the fact that the Democratic caucus, by its direct action, has tied my hands and placed me in a position where I will not be authorized to do so unless the caucus is reconvened and changes its decision. I am sure your good judgment will cause you to thoroughly understand my attitude."

The woman suffragists thoroughly understood. They grasped once and for all that this is a government by party, in which the individual member and the individual member's constituents are powerless when the party's pleasure is contrary to theirs. They understood that there was no use in appealing, that arguments were without avail, that a party has no mind, that it has only a ballot-box, and that they would have to find votes to put into it. To whom could they turn for votes except the women of the West? To what better end could western women use their votes than to secure freedom for other women and to perfect their own?

The Congressional Union therefore went out into every one of the suffrage states and asked the women these questions: Do you know that your representatives are putting party loyalty ahead of women's freedom? Do you wish to use your votes to keep in power a party that blocks the way of other women?

They recited to them the suffrage records of the forty-three Democrats then running for office in those states. They told the women how, in spite of the fact that every one of those men was, of course, for suffrage, not one of them had gone out and worked for it among his colleagues, not one had left his party caucus for it, not one of them had tried to form a group to bargain for suffrage as representatives constantly bargain for other issues they believe right.

That was all; they merely recited the records of their representatives on suffrage; they didn't mention another issue or utter a single personal criticism. But at once the Congressmen's fear of the

(*Continued on page* 12)

Professor Beard Writes on the Woman's Party

From the New Republic, July 29, 1916

THE Congressional Union believes in nothing but *Realpolitik*. It has ideals but it does not wear them on its sleeve. Like Goethe, it believes in facts. The Woman's Party is a fact. That a very small percentage of the women voters of the West can decide the fate of the presidential and congressional elections is a fact. That thousands of women with brains, training, experience in public affairs, determination and money are prepared to fight to the bitter end for the federal suffrage amendment is a fact. That the Union has thousands of voters pledged to stand by the cause and defeat political parties that will not do justice to women is a fact. It is aware that it cannot now swing the entire mass of women voters, but it also knows that it does not have to swing more than a few thousand in each state. Thus armed, it does not beg, it does not wheedle, it does not whine. It wages a trench warfare with exactly the kind of weapons that men use. It knows that no other kind is effective. It speaks a language which the most seasoned and cynical politician can understand. It has money and organization and will and *votes*. It does not argue with males that the nature of woman is worthy of freedom. It appeals to women and informs men.

From Achievement to Achievement

Dealing with facts, the Congressional Union marches from achievement to achievement. Its first triumph was in 1914 when for the first time in the history of the country both houses of Congress thought woman suffrage deserving of real consideration in the form of a vote. It was defeated and then it carried the campaign into the suffrage states against the Democrats whose party was in power and hence responsible for the action of Congress. Without organization and money at that time, the Union thoroughly frightened Democratic politicians from the West, as thousands of letters and clippings in the Union office prove. The second achievement was the first national convention of women voters at San Francisco in September, 1915, which was speedily followed by the announcement that President Wilson and the members of his official family would vote for woman suffrage—in New Jersey. The third achievement was the formation of the Woman's Party at Chicago in 1916 and the statesmanlike presentation of the woman's cause which won from the Republicans the strong endorsement of the principle of woman suffrage on the ground of justice. The great party of Mr. Lodge, Mr. Crane, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Root, and Mr. Butler, "as a measure of justice," favored the extension of suffrage to women. The Union's fourth achievement was at St. Louis where the Democratic party approved equal franchise by recommending it to the states.

"Squatty Sovereignty"

Of course, both parties sought to evade genuine responsibility by falling back on "squatter sovereignty." They endorsed woman suffrage but avoided mentioning the federal amendment. Tradition has it that Mr. Lodge winked at Mr. Harding when he read the suffrage plank and that the Democrats adopted the principle "just to appease the western women." Apparently all that was needed to "take suffrage out of politics" was a new Dred Scott decision by a packed Supreme Court. But those who laughed up their sleeves, if there were any such, soon began to discover the inexorable logic of the position in which they had placed themselves. The Republicans declare that "justice" demands the enfranchisement of women, but the party of Hamilton, Webster, Lincoln, and Roosevelt—the party that has twice saved this nation from going to pieces—stultifies itself by sacrificing justice on the altar of the Democratic superstition which twice almost destroyed the nation—"states' rights."

Inasmuch as this conclusion is not final but temporary, it is comical. The conclusion is subject to revision. The Republican party is the party of such nationalism as we now have and it cannot carry that nationalism to triumph without the West. * * * The Republicans now inform the western women that equal suffrage is just, but that respect for a discredited Democratic shibboleth which cost this country the blood of a million sons and the sacrifice of a million women prevents the party from doing justice. Of course this will be sufficient for some women voters, but it will not be sufficient for that marginal minority of women voters, grounded in the principles of the Congressional Union, who will decide the day. * * *

Mr. Wilson and His "Platform"

And what of the Democrats, the party of Jefferson, the party of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, the party that has written "consent of the governed" into the political doctrines of this nation? Mr. Wilson, its spokesman, has made much of the platform of 1912. He informed the women at Washington in 1914 that he could not help them because Mr. Bryan had not thought of them during the hot days at Baltimore. He was scrupulously precise in stating that his party had not spoken at his nomination in favor of woman suffrage. In 1916, Mr. Wilson wrote his own platform and by his own deliberate act prevented his party from going on record in favor of a national amendment. With a bland smile upon his countenance, he now tells the women that he must still abide by the dictates of his party. To the Congressional Union this is worse than hypocrisy, contemptible hypocrisy. The President seeks to degrade the members of the Union in their own eyes by assuming that they cannot see through this painfully obvious and clumsy bit of political legerdemain. The Congressional Union will inform the western women that Mr. Wilson believes in woman suffrage—in New Jersey—enough to ask for their votes, but not enough to stand aside and permit his own party to endorse the national cause. On this "tricky politician," the Union leaders declare, "we will wage relentless war—war until enough of the enfranchised women are

(*Continued on page* 11)

THE PRESS

Mr. Hughes on Votes for Women

ONE of the few divisions of Mr. Hughes' speech in which he made a positive personal contribution to current political discussion was that in which he dealt with votes for women. His handling of this issue was original and statesmanlike, and it will have substantial permanent effect upon the ultimate success of the suffrage agitation. For the first time, the official candidate for the presidency of one of the two dominant political parties expressly recognizes the inevitability of votes for women. Neither does he fear or hesitate to accept the manifest political consequence of his confidence in the justice and success of the suffrage cause. Once it is admitted that votes not only should, but *must* be granted to women, the agitators for women's suffrage can concentrate their energy upon contriving and using the most effective means of accomplishing the inevitable result. The declaration by Mr. Hughes of his "clear" conviction "that in the interest of the public life of this country the contest should be ended promptly" can mean only one thing. The one way of ending the contest promptly is the passage of an amendment to the constitution, incorporating votes for women into the national political structure. Mr. Hughes has helped to deliver the suffrage agitation from the heart-breaking task of overcoming bit by bit male indifference, inertia, stupidity and reluctance in all the states in the Union. He has nationalized the suffrage agitation; and if he is elected, the prestige of the presidential office is bound to be exerted in favor of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.—*New Republic, August* 5, 1916.

The Political Campaign

THIS year's campaign will be most varied in its aspects, intense in its strategy, and important in its results. In the one factor of woman suffrage alone it has already taken on novel tendencies which must be dealt with without precedents to guide the candidates or managers.—*Washington* (*D. C.*) *Post, August* 3, 1916.

Mr. Hughes' Method

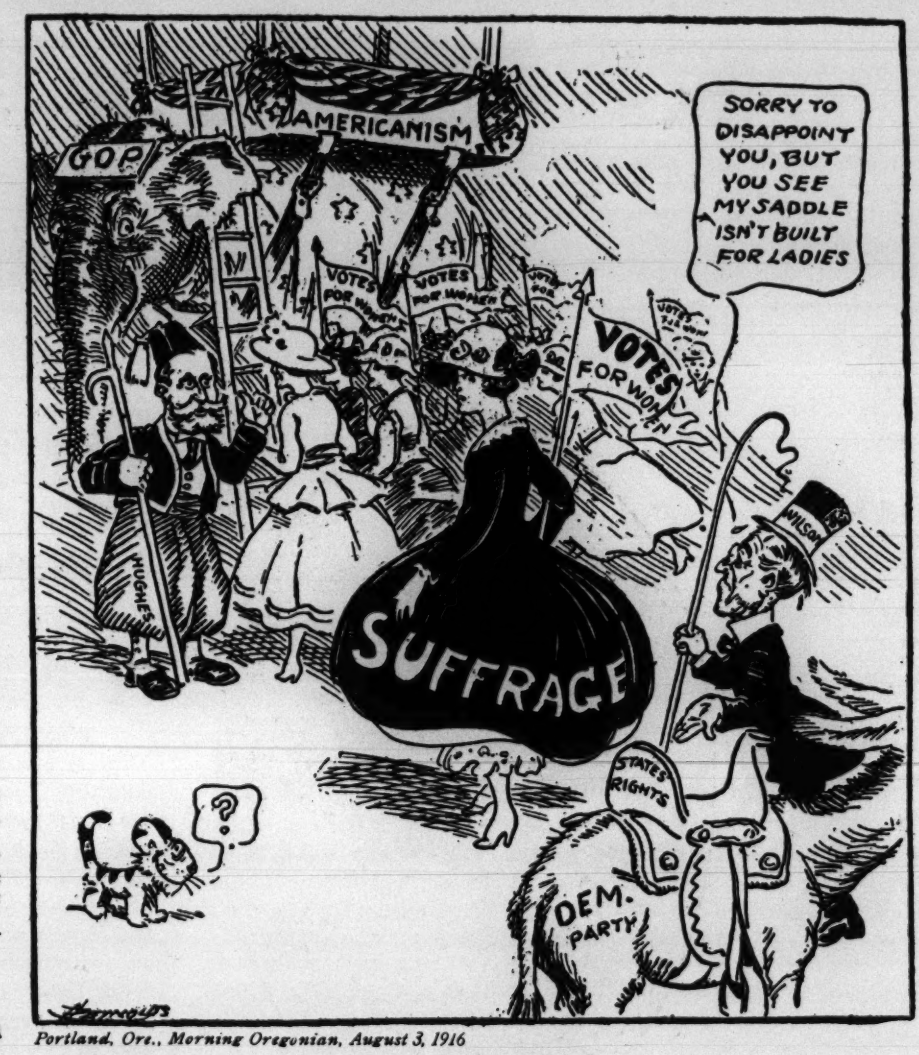
MR. HUGHES has set a very good example to other public men and candidates in his treatment of the question of woman suffrage. Colonel Roosevelt was the first presidential candidate of national importance to espouse the suffrage cause, and Mr. Hughes' frank declaration along similar lines is strong evidence of the rapid strides of a movement that was for so many years practically taboo in the upper circles of the political aristocracy. Politicians dodged it, side-stepped it, evaded it, and resorted to all the familiar tricks to keep from committing themselves.

This way of treating a question evidently does not appeal to Mr. Hughes. He finds that it is a continual source of agitation, of turmoil, of needless foment, and he therefore urges that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the various states, so that the matter will be settled once for all. * * *

There is a freshness and novelty about Mr. Hughes' suggestion for a settlement of this question which should appeal to the old time politicians. The candidate would appear to have caught the spirit of progressiveness.—*Leadville* (*Colorado*) *Herald Democrat, August* 3, 1916.

Mr. Hughes Begins Speech Tour

IN bringing up new issues at the moment when they will serve him best, Mr. Hughes has shown himself a past master. The most recent example, in the opinion of some Republicans and some suffragists and perhaps some Democrats, was when he threw down the gauntlet to President Wilson on the question of votes for women. * * *—*Washington* (*D. C.*) *Herald, August* 8, 1916.



Portland, Ore., Morning Oregonian, August 3, 1916

The Mahout: "This way, ladies; there are plenty of seats on the elephant"

Pointed Paragraphs

WHAT is worrying Mr. Wilson is the reflection that among the states to which the woman's suffrage question should be left are included a large number where the ladies will decide that Mr. Wilson should be left.—*Boston Transcript, August* 3, 1916.

MR. HUGHES, of course, didn't feel that he could commit the whole Republican party to a woman suffrage amendment of the constitution when the party platform had not done so, but everybody will be for it when he is elected.—*Philadelphia Press, August* 7, 1916.

DEFERENCE shown by candidates to the demands for woman suffrage indicates that the women already have enough political influence to be worth looking after.—*Washington* (*D. C.*) *Star, August* 7, 1916.

THE White House announces that the President has not changed his attitude on the suffrage question, but the campaign is young yet.—*Boston Transcript, August* 3, 1916.

IF the women are determined to have votes—and it seems they are—all they have to do now is to see to it that Mr. Hughes is elected President.—*Philadelphia Press, August* 4, 1916.

Opinions Public and Private

A Washington correspondent informs us that "persons close to the President say they believe his private opinion is that woman suffrage in the South would be bad for that section of the country on account of the increase it would cause in the negro vote."

In the south the negro vote has been small. The state of Virginia, in which President Wilson was born, cast a total vote when he was elected amounting to only 6.6 of its population.

President Wilson began his manhood career in the state of Georgia, when he essayed to practice law. The vote of Georgia in 1912 was 4.6 of its population.

Some of the other ratios of total vote to population in 1912 were Alabama, 5.5; Arkansas, 7.8; Florida, 6.8; Louisiana, 4.7; Mississippi, 3.6; South Carolina, 3.3; Texas, 7.7.

The ratio for the whole country that year was 16.4. The ratio in Michigan was 19.6. * * *

If woman suffrage or anything else should increase the negro vote, it would bring about in our own country that condition of "full and free elections" for which Mr. Wilson has stickled in the case of Mexico. It would apply to ourselves the lofty ideals we have advocated volubly for other countries and for humanity. It would be consistent and a sincere practice of professions. But Mr. Wilson, who has repeatedly declared his public opinion that only by the exercise of self-government can other nations and humanity rise to higher levels, confides to persons close to him his private opinion that it would be bad for his own country to permit its people the exercise of self-government. * * *—*Detroit Free Press, August* 4, 1916.

The President's Evasion of the Suffrage Issue

THE President has set himself in opposition to the desires and ambitions of the women enrolled under the banner of equal suffrage.

His opposition is frank enough. The reasons he gives for this opposition are, however, disingenuous.

Mr. Wilson has, of course, the right to be opposed to equal suffrage or the maintenance of that doctrine as a national issue. But if he wishes his position to inspire respect, it should at least show sincerity.

For the President to say that he opposes woman suffrage because his party platform did not declare for it is an obviously insincere statement.

No President ever violated so many party pledges as he, and none has ever manifested such utter disregard for the will of the Democratic masses as expressed in their platform. * * *

The second excuse offered for not complying with the request of the suffragists is equally unconvincing. He says that he cannot dictate to his party!

This statement should have been followed by Artemus Ward's famous footnote: "N. B.—This is wrote sarkasticul."

We can imagine the somewhat sour smiles which Senators Stone and Kern, Chairmen Kitchin, Hay, Padget and Flood will greet this statement of the man who has been accustomed to call them to the White House and give his orders for Congress to execute. * * *

The suffragists will perforce have to accept President Wilson's declaration that he opposes equal suffrage. His excuses they may dismiss as mere moonshine.—*Chicago Examiner, August* 1, 1916.

Campaign Throughout the Country

Headquarters Opened at San Diego Exposition

ORGANIZATION in California is fast being completed. During the month of July many meetings were held, at which new members of the Union were enrolled and pledged to use their political power for the national enfranchisement of women.

Permanent headquarters were opened at the San Diego Exposition last week. A kiosk on the Plaza in a most conspicuous part of the fair grounds shows to visitors the familiar purple, white and gold.

The report of meetings held shows the great interest felt by Californian women in the National Woman's Party.

During July Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, national organizer for the Union, addressed meetings held at San Diego, National City, Coronado, Los Angeles, Hollywood, South Pasadena, San Francisco, Sacramento, Roseville, Placer County, and Marysville, Yuba County.

At San Diego, Mrs. Wolfe addressed an audience of more than one hundred members of the drama department of the San Diego Club, and again in San Diego she was the speaker before the Woman's Press Association.

In San Francisco she spoke before the follow-in clubs: The National Council of Women Voters, the Susan B. Anthony Club, and the Taxation League, and in Sacramento before the Rotary Club and the Labor Council.

The Suffrage First luncheon in Los Angeles which had been postponed on account of the illness of Mrs. Sara Bard Field, the chief speaker, will probably be given near the middle of this month.

Iowa State Conference Held August 11

THE Iowa state conference of suffragists at which a branch of the Congressional Union will be formed is to be held in Des Moines, August 11. The program of the conference is as follows:

Address of welcome by George W. Clark, Governor of Iowa, and by City Attorney Guy Miller who will speak in the absence of the Mayor of Des Moines.

"The Present Situation in Iowa," by Mrs. Fred A. Patterson, of Sioux City.

"The Federal Amendment in the 63d and 64th Congress," by Miss Elsie Hill, of Washington, D. C.

"Federal Suffrage and Illinois," by Miss Florence King, of Chicago.

"Suffrage First," by Miss Vivian Pierce, of California.

"National Suffrage," by Mr. Harvey Ingham, of Des Moines.

"Iowa's Opportunity," by Mrs. Mary Ankeny Hunter, of Des Moines.

"Reading of the Constitution," by Mrs. Donald Macrae, of Council Bluffs.

Election of officers.

Miss Hill met Miss Pierce in Burlington last Saturday and a number of meetings were held there, in the surrounding section of the state, and a series of street meetings in Des Moines later. Miss Pierce has held meetings all over the state in preparation for the conference.

On Wednesday, August 2, the news of Mr. Hughes' indorsement of the federal amendment came to the Des Moines suffragists in a most dramatic way. Miss Pierce was addressing the members of the suffrage council, representing the officers of the Des Moines suffrage organizations, at Harris Emery's tearoom, and predicting that Mr. Hughes' was about to commit himself on the federal amendment for woman suffrage, when she was called to the telephone by a news service and told that the Republican candidate for President had just made public his endorsement of the federal amendment. When Miss Pierce came back to her audience and announced the endorsement the whole meeting burst into a storm of applause.

The call to the conference, which was given wide publicity and sent out all over the state, was signed by Mrs. E. M. Hill, district president of the W. C. T. U., Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey, Miss Pearl DeJarnette, superintendent of the Polk County schools, Mrs. Ellen Rourke, state factory inspector, Mrs. A. H. Hoffman, member of the Des Moines board of education, and Miss Vivian Pierce.

Mrs. Edna S. Latimer

Who will speak on "Whirlwind Tour" through Maryland

Maryland Suffragists Plan "Whirlwind Tour"

A "WHIRLWIND automobile tour" through the sixth Maryland congressional district in the interest of national suffrage has been planned for the near future by the Congressional Union. Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, of Baltimore, Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, chairman of the sixth district, and Mrs. J. Girvin Peters, of Chevy Chase, will spend ten days in the automobile campaign which will cover every county from Rockville to Oakland, at the western border of Maryland. Hagerstown, Cumberland, Frederick, Hancock, Emmitsburg, and every other important town in the district, which is represented in Congress by David J. Lewis, will be visited, meetings held, and local committees of the Congressional Union formed.

Arrangements are being made to have a delegation of federal woman suffrage workers call on Mr. Lewis, either in Washington or at his home in Cumberland, to point out to him the inconsistency of his position that suffrage is a state issue.

Massachusetts Members Hold Suffrage Rally

CANOBIE LAKE, New Hampshire, was the scene of much rejoicing Wednesday of last week when the Massachusetts members of the Congressional Union held a rally there. Mr. Hughes' endorsement of the federal amendment was heartily cheered, and much interest shown. People from Lawrence, Lowell and Haverhill were present, and many joined the Union. The meeting was arranged and conducted by Miss Eleanor Calnan, and Miss Katherine Morey was the speaker.

"There was great enthusiasm over Mr. Hughes' endorsement and for the National Woman's Party," writes Miss Morey.

Miss Calnan is chairman of the seventh congressional district and she has been doing some splendid organization work there. She has arranged meetings, organized committees, and has been most successful in getting publicity for Union activities in Massachusetts.

Atlantic City Meeting to Start Eastern Campaign

ARRANGEMENTS for a large meeting on the Steel Pier at Atlantic City for Sunday afternoon, August 27, are nearly complete. This meeting is to be the beginning of a campaign in the eastern states. Mrs. Lillian Russell Moore, or, as she is better known to the theatre-going public, Miss Lillian Russell, will be one of the speakers. Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, chairman of the New Jersey branch, and Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, circulation manager of THE SUFFRAGIST, will also speak.

On Saturday, July 1, Mrs. Hopkins drove her grey roadster to Philadelphia, in order to take part in the automobile run from Philadelphia to Wildwood, New Jersey, held under the auspices of the Philadelphia *Press*. Prizes were offered for the car coming the nearest to the secret time decided on by the Mayors of Camden, Wildwood and Philadelphia. The Mayors of Camden and Wildwood each offered prizes for the woman driver coming nearest to their individual secret time. Mrs. Hopkins' car was too fast to win the first prize but she won the ten dollars offered by Mayor Ellis, of Camden. Her car was decorated in Congressional Union colors, and bore a huge sign on the back reading, "Woman's Party—Suffrage Now—91 Electoral Votes." There was another sign reading "Suffrage First and Now."

Miss Campbell met Mrs. Hopkins at Wildwood, having finished her tour of the first district, and they visited some of the leading suffragists. Miss Katzenstein, executive secretary of the Philadelphia Equal Franchise League, was also on the automobile run, and assisted in arranging for Mrs. Hopkins to be included among the after-dinner speakers, at the dinner held that evening by the Philadelphia *Press*. As Mrs. Hopkins and Miss Campbell were unable to stay Miss Katzenstein took charge of a very successful boardwalk meeting held on July 4, at which Miss Sapovits of Philadelphia was the speaker. SUFFRAGISTS were sold, and much interest aroused. Miss Campbell spent most of the week in Atlantic City, arranging for summer work.

Mrs. John G. Fryer, of Merchantville, has been appointed chairman for Camden County, in the first congressional district.

Treasurer's Report

Contributions toward $200,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributions from July 31 through August 7, 1916

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Miss Helen Todd.....	$1.00	
Miss Emma E. Elliott.....	1.00	
Mrs. De Watt Henderson...	10.00	
Miss M. Brooke Bright.....	2.00	
Miss Mary M. McClure....	5.00	
Mrs. P. Comstock.....	5.00	
Miss Jessie Ashley.....	2.00	
Dr. Lillian C. Irwin	10.00	
Mr. Louis F. Spratlen.....	5.00	
Miss Grace Henshaw.....	100.00	
Mrs. Charles V. Meredith...	80.00	
Syracuse Branch Congressional Union	100.00	
Mrs. William Colt.....	25.00	
Mrs. Gertrude M. Pinchot..	10.00	
Miss Evelyn Haskell.....	1.00	
Miss Eliza Tonks.....	1.00	
Mrs. Robert Moss.....	10.00	
Mrs. Fanny R. Paget	5.00	
Mrs. J. M. Allen	1.00	
Miss Minnie Reed	.25	
Mrs. Harold Walker.....	50.00	
Mrs. Emanuel Einstein.....	100.00	
Mrs. Rachel Deane.....	25.00	
Mrs. John Rogers, Jr.....	10.00	
Malone, New York Political Equality Club.....	5.00	
Mrs. Thomas J. Williams...	4.00	
Mrs. Edna S. Latimer.....	25.00	
Mrs. Thos. L. Chadbourne, Jr.	300.00	
Mrs. Charles Thoma.....	1.00	
Mrs. John Trix.....	25.00	
Miss Anita L. Bulmer.....	1.00	
Miss Emily Perry.....	5.00	
Morristown, New Jersey.....	10.00	
Miss Ellen B. Scripps.....	100.00	
Mrs. John Cornell.....	10.00	
Miss Marie Ernst.....	5.00	
Mrs. John Pollock.....	3.00	
Mrs. R. K. Minson.....	5.00	
Mrs. A. H. Pringle.....	1.00	
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.....	1,000.00	
Mrs. Herbert Sparrow.....	1.00	
Mrs. Harriet L. Scribner.....	1.00	
Mrs. W. D. Sherwood.....	5.00	
Mrs. Christine Nielson Ives..	5.00	
Membership fees.....'	32.05	
Collection	5.61	
Total	$2,108.91	
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....	$141,396.20	
Total collected by National Headquarters through August 7, 1916.....		$143,505.11
Mrs. R. M. Laird.....	$3.00	
Mrs. Morris M. Mead.....	1.00	
Rev. M. V. McDuffie.....	.75	
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins.....	20.00	
Collection, Belmar	.86	
Collection, Wildwood	.23	
Total	$25.84	
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....	16,218.68	
Total collected by the Branches through August 7, 1916		16,244.52
Grand Total		$159,749.63

The Woman's Party

By Charles Beard

(*Continued from page 8*)

consciously mobilized to make the return of such a leader and such a party impossible. The Democratic party is now in power and refuses to pass the Anthony amendment. Let us give the Republicans their chance." This mobilization may not be done in a day, but it will be done, unless wise statesmen see that to alienate a great host of leading women would be a national evil beyond repair.

Such are the facts on which the Woman's Party rides to power. It is, as someone has said, "a contemptible minority," but it knows the history of minorities in politics. Its agitation is called a "rub-a-dub-dub" affair. So was that of the abolitionist. That it has created a political situation for the leaders of both parties is a fact of recognized significance. Only Mr. Wilson's blind admirers deny it, and in vain. The women's convention in Chicago, by the records of the press and eye-witnesses, was a triumph. It was marked by the absence of the maudlin sentiment, crude emotionalism, and open demagogy which have been too painfully apparent in every man's convention since the origin of American political parties. It knows what it wants. It makes no compromises and offers no concessions. Justice is not subject to truck and barter. With more intelligence than is shown by most male citizens it recognizes that party responsibility is the hope of democracy, and that great results are not to be attained by wheedling individuals or electing "good" men but by holding the parties—their organization, leadership, rank and file—responsible for promises and performances.

The Woman's Party says to the political leaders: "You declare that our cause is just and that you favor it. Prove your honesty by helping us win at once by the easiest method." The Congressional Union does not propose to waste time trying to win that portion of public ignorance that is influenced by parades, or doling out cakes and ale on election days. It refuses to ogle and "smile sweetly for the gentlemen." It will not go out into the streets to plead with loafers. It will not weep in public about mother and home. Its leaders are willing to plead with the voters for other causes, but they will not take a sex conflict to the gutters. They know that every man who really believes in the "justice" of their cause will give his support to the federal amendment, that talk about states' rights when three-fourths of the states must gives their consent, is either ignorance or hyprocrisy, and that the shortest cut is through responsible legislative action. Especially, they will not listen to the opponents of direct government who tell them that democracy requires a referendum.

It is no band of fanatics that the Congressional Union is mobilizing. It is no "lost cause" which it proposes to champion. Every organization of women in the country—the millions of club women and teachers—has endorsed woman suffrage. The parties—all of them—have endorsed it. Nine-tenths of the intellectual leaders among the women have endorsed it. An ever increasing stream of informed women is pouring out of our schools and colleges. Political tutelage is unnecessary for those to whom the gateways of knowledge are open. The inexorable social forces of the age are marshalled on the side of woman suffrage. The integration of America demands that this great national force be drawn into the main current of our active public life. Fortified by the logic of events, by political facts, by the justice of the cause, the Congressional Union will continue to mobilize and fight until the victory is won. Wise men will not allow the inevitable to make trouble for them; they will forestall it. The women are now victorious. The only question that remains is: "What party has the vision to behold the day and what leader can rise to the heights which Abraham Lincoln mounted on January 1st, 1863?"

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(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

JULY 30 THROUGH AUGUST 5

Miss Minnie D. Abbott	1
Miss S. C. Grant	3
Miss G. F. Peters	1
Miss Vivian Pierce	2
Miss Margery Gibson Ross	7
Mrs. Ella St. Clair Thompson	4
Miss Ruth Crocker	1
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	1
Mrs. John Jay White	2
Mrs. S. L. Martin	1
Massachusetts Branch, Congressional Union	1
Mrs. Florence Brooks Whitehouse	2
Mrs. Emily H. Bright	1
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith	1
Mrs. Sally H. Burch	1
New Jersey Branch, Congressional Union	5
Miss Winifred Mallon	1
Total	35
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	3,419
Total through August 5th secured by members	3,454

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The Four Million of the West

(Continued from page 8)

women's vote was evidenced. "I am for national woman suffrage—always have been, always will be" was blazoned on their placards. The Democratic press went wild, and those leaders of the Union who had planned this deadly scheme were accused of the basest villany, including that of being financed by the Republicans!

It was a difficult appeal, this first one to the women. They were asked suddenly to give up all their "local loyalties," to catch the broad national vision, to sacrifice the immediate and personal for a future gain that would be only in small part theirs. Yet so splendidly did they respond that only nineteen of the forty-three candidates campaigned against sat in the next Congress—and at the following session the rules committee was delighted to let the amendment come immediately to a vote! * * *

The Part of Wisdom

After the success of the first appeal to women voters the Congressional Union lured them a little deeper into national politics by calling them into convention at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, at which five thousand women pledged themselves to put aside all party allegiance and stand for one thing only—national suffrage for women. A third appeal went out, and the women voters were called to meet in Chicago at the time of the other conventions and form a Woman's Party, with a single plank—woman suffrage. That won, the party, if wisdom continues to prevail among its leaders, will disband. Except for this first time to demonstrate their strength and solidarity, it is not as a party that women can play their most effective part in national politics; it is as a great uncertainty capable of uniting quickly and determinedly behind a special issue.

In the unselfishness of this first response to the appeal that has been made to them, there is a prophesy of the part they will play in the field of national politics when their power is greater and more conscious. Women cannot always agree, cannot always stand as a united political force. The important thing is that they should keep their direct, clear vision of what politics is; should be able always to forget the local and the personal as they are now forgetting them, to see the nation as a whole, to keep what one of their leaders calls "the great throb of faith that has been renewed in their blood by this movement among free women to help the unfree." It is important also for them to keep alive in the political mind the fact that women have the last vote!

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